

On Summit Eve, NATO Seeks To Seize Initiative on Arms

By Joseph Fitchett
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — As President Ronald Reagan arrived Tuesday in Brussels for a NATO summit meeting, allied governments appeared eager to take the initiative in arms control after months in which the Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, has steadily gained popularity in the West with his proposals.

Western leaders are unanimous in supporting the INF Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union, but they have voiced contrasting views about the treaty's impact on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and about the next steps in dealing with the Soviet Union.

Mr. Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain say NATO should continue business as usual by pursuing plans to modernize its nuclear and conventional forces.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany, on the other hand, wants NATO to rethink its agenda to put more emphasis on new East-West arms cuts.

The two French leaders at the summit meeting, President François Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, are split on these questions. Mr. Chirac sympathizes with the U.S. and British views, including the need for what an aide called "a strategic pause" in disarmament accords.

Mr. Mitterrand echoes the West German desire to seize opportunities for arms cuts, and he has called on NATO to revise its military strategy.

At the two-day summit meeting, aides say, NATO leaders intend to minimize their differences and present a publicly united front. The aim is to reassure domestic public opinion and send what one official called "a robust message" that the Soviet Union should not believe it can drive wedges between alliance nations with arms control offers.

Mr. Reagan is expected to reaffirm the United States' military commitment to its allies. NATO will endorse U.S. disarmament moves and announce preliminary steps toward East-West negotiations on conventional forces.

Many Europeans, and some U.S. congressmen, have called for NATO to name a commission of statesmen to recommend ways to

shift more responsibility in the alliance from the United States to European nations.

Mr. Reagan has praised recent steps by France and West Germany toward stronger military cooperation. But U.S. diplomats reject a major policy review, arguing that it could cause political turmoil in the alliance at a time when the West needs to confront Mr. Gorbachev's diplomacy.

Instead, a French presidential aide said Tuesday, Mr. Mitterrand and the West should try to cut the superpowers' strategic arsenals severely enough for a small, long-range nuclear force to deter war.

Mr. Thatcher has criticized such ideas, which are shared by many West German politicians. In a warning against Western naïveté, she said recently that the Soviet Union still wanted to split the West and see nuclear weapons removed from Western Europe.

West German politicians argue that NATO must adjust its thinking to cope with Mr. Gorbachev's agile diplomacy or else lose public support.

Although France is not in NA-

GENSCHER: New Signal for the Allies in NATO

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ance's security requirements and strategy of deterrence.

Q. You are strongly committed to the early conclusion of a chemical weapons convention. Aren't you underestimating the difficulties of verification?

A. Consensus exists in the alliance on confining the conventional stability negotiations to conventional forces and armaments.

Q. Does the West German government attach special importance to including short-range nuclear forces in the arms control process?

A. Yes, because in these systems, the Warsaw Pact possesses a large superiority. NATO defined its disarmament objective on both U.S. and Soviet land-based short-range nuclear forces in the common arms-control concept adopted by foreign ministers at Reykjavik in mid-1987. We stick to that.

Q. Does this also mean that decisions about modernization of short-range nuclear forces will be postponed until NATO has a new overall concept, which you call a "genuine concept?"

A. An isolated decision on the modernization of individual nuclear weapons systems is indeed not on the alliance's agenda. What we need now is a comprehensive Western concept about arms control. That should include this question.

The demand for a comprehensive concept is, by the way, not a specific German concern, but a NATO one.

At Reykjavik, foreign ministers told their NATO representatives, working with the military authorities, to work out further development of the coherent and comprehensive arms-control concept that the ministers had adopted. In this brief, the ministers said that overall progress in arms control must be kept in mind along with the alliance.

RIVALS: Quarrels Spoil Peace Prospects

(Continued from Page 1)

advocates of the return of the exiled Afghan King, which Mr. Hekmatyar opposes.

Like many other traditionalists, Zabihullah Mojadedi said the rebel movement was distorted after the United States, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan channeled most covert foreign assistance, estimated at more than \$1 billion last year, to Mr. Hekmatyar or other fundamentalists. Analysts say the fundamentalists are stronger militarily than the traditionalists.

Refugee workers and others connected to the mujahidin say there has been an increase in warfare among the different groups.

The Americans took on Gulbuddin because he was the most militant, he had the best organization and it suited their purpose," said a Pakistani involved in the aid. "Now they realize he has to be stopped down."

The fundamentalists are not necessarily secular. In some cases they have strong ties to Moslem clergy, Islamic scholars and spiritual leaders. But much of their authority derives from the power of hundreds of tribes, clans and other autonomous subgroups in Afghanistan whose leadership has been largely hereditary.

Historians say that all kings and civil authorities in Afghanistan in modern times have ruled by accommodating rather than subduing these fiefdoms.

For example, Sayed Ahmed Gailani, leader of the National Islamic Front for Afghanistan, is a traditionalist but is also respected as a hereditary saint in the mystical Sufi Moslem sect. He owned a Peugeot Jordan and Syria insist that any peace talks be held under the auspices of the five Security Council members. But Mr. Shamir has steadfastly refused to accept this approach.

Mr. Shultz had sought a compromise by suggesting that the United States and Soviet Union serve as joint hosts for the opening session of a "nonauthoritative" international conference that would allow the parties directly concerned to move immediately to direct bilateral talks.

The tentative outlines of the Shultz plan call for initial talks on interim autonomy for the 1.5 million Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

These talks on interim arrangements involving Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians would be followed by negotiations starting in December to determine the final status of the occupied territories, including the Syrian Golan Heights, that Syria would attend as well.

Mr. Shultz side confirmed that Mr. Shultz had proposed early April as a target date for holding an "international event" to start the first stage of negotiations to the Israelis. But he denied that Mr. Shultz had set any precise day.

SHULTZ: Sees Hussein in London

(Continued from Page 1)

to London. Mr. Shultz confirmed Arab and Israeli reports that he had yet to present a "formal position" to the various parties.

The side also confirmed that Mr. Shultz had been discussing the possible attendance at the opening session of the talks of all five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council — the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain and France.

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OPINION

INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune

Middle East Movement

George Shultz is giving the Reagan administration's new Middle East peace initiative its first international airing. The initiative is an invitation to a proceeding that at this stage is to unfold under American aegis, not under the American-Soviet sponsorship foreseen in the now sidetracked proposal for an international conference. That alone was enough to put off Mikhail Gorbachev. The plan is "inconsistent," he said, and does not engage all sides. Still, he reported that he and the American secretary of state had agreed to "resume the exchange of opinions after George Shultz makes a trip to the Middle East."

Mr. Shultz has been taking Middle East soundings. In Israel, the first response was polarized, which good because consensus means paralysis. It will take a hard fight for a more reasonable view — the view of the Labor opposition, led by Shimon Peres — to win through. Meanwhile, Mr. Shultz has been getting a good exposure to the unreasonable view of the government. Most of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's Likud bloc still embraces the annexationist aims so thoroughly undermined by the Palestinian resistance. Likud rejects the basic American tenet of the negotiated exchange of land for peace. But even Mr. Shamir is on the defensive, fearful that talk on West Bank-Gaza autonomy might slide irreversibly into early talks

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

For a Drugs Doctrine

The headlines send new shivers over drugs. The growing influence of the narcotics in Panama and other Latin American capitals translates directly into the cold-blooded killing of Edward Byrne, a young New York City police officer on a street taken over by crack dealers.

Drug trafficking, no longer just a regrettably social problem, now threatens national security. North American demand, not foreign supply, drives the drug trade — but an outraged American public also expects action against governments that permit or promote the drug trade. It's too late for piecemeal.

A 1986 law authorizes the United States to impose sanctions on countries which the State Department finds are not cooperating enough to control the flow of illegal drugs. These sanctions range from loss of foreign aid to a 50 percent tax on imports to the United States. The law is deficient, a blunt tool for the complex, often diplomatically delicate task of curbing drug exports.

Seven countries are found to warrant sanctions: Afghanistan, Iran, Syria, Paraguay, Laos, Mexico and Panama. The first three have minimal economic relations with the United States. The State Department arguably acts with prudence when, because of other national interests, it grants Laos and Paraguay "time-limited" certification of compliance. That leaves Mexico and Panama.

Mexico might seem to be a likely candidate for sanctions, as a principal source of marijuana and heroin and a transhipment point for cocaine. Some of its law enforcement agencies and local governments appear

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

More Than Just Medals

With all that gliding, whirling, soaring and careening down icy inclines, the Winter Olympics offered a stunning vision of what athletically gifted people can do when they are freed of certain earthly constraints. The more venerable Summer Games can't match it — in them an Alberto Tomba would actually have to sweat for his gold medals.

On Saturday night, when the women's figure skating finals were held in Calgary, there were as many American television sets tuned to the event as are usually tuned to a Super Bowl game. With all respect to the National Football League, it was just as good a show — with better music.

But America, despite its leap year fascination with the Olympics, is not all that dedicated to winter sports the rest of the time, and as usual the count of medals at the end of these games showed it. U.S. athletes won just six, while the Soviet Union and East Germany cleaned up, also as usual. The U.S. Olympic Committee is looking for ways to narrow the medal gap. We wish it well, but given the reluctance of Americans to go in either for heavy subsidies or for the sort of intense sports training and selection favored by East bloc countries, it probably won't make a great deal of headway.

It will be no national catastrophe. The

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Comment

Mushroom Cloud Over Minsk

Pretty well everybody in Europe now agrees that the U.S. long-range nuclear force is an indispensable component of the guard of Europe. The trouble is that for America to say it will blow Russia's head off if it steps across the line in Europe may not impress the Russians, the Europeans, or Russia can then do the same to America's head. The indispensable component has to be subtler. The latest suggestion [for that component] has come in a report from such good Americans as Ike Wohlster, Brzezinski and Kissinger. The report says the first aim of the long-range American missiles, if the Russian army started an attack in Europe, should be to slow or stop the attack by hitting the sort of targets the attackers depend on — airfields, troop concentrations, a trio of European defense luminaries

— The Economist (London).

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NATO: Seeing, Hearing and Speaking No Conflict

By Jim Hoagland

BRUSSELS — This week's NATO summit meeting should have been the birthplace of a new Western strategy for responding to the diplomatic offensives of the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. But the separate agendas that the leaders of NATO's Big Four nations have brought to the Belgian capital ensure that the two-day gathering will fall far short of that lofty goal.

Grand politics, rather than grand strategy, is the order of the day.

Grand politics, rather than grand strategy, is the order of the day as the summit opens.

Final communiqués are already agreed upon and reduced to vague generalities before Wednesday's opening session, minimizing the risk of an intensive debate on a more coordinated alliance strategy for dealing with Mr. Gorbachev.

Almost all leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization agree that the alliance needs to counter the advances that the dynamic Soviet leader has made both in Western public opinion and in taking charge of the arms control agenda. But in the preparations last month for the summit meeting it became clear that they could not agree on the responsibility for the problems that the alliance faces, nor on the remedies.

The Reagan-Gorbachev treaty creates for NATO strategy. And Mr. Reagan is likely to leave Brussels on Thursday without bearing the unpleasant news that there has been a sharp erosion of European confidence in U.S. leadership in defense cooperation during his presidency.

Not even the combative British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, is prepared to rain on the president's sunset, although she has made it clear that she shares the general concerns about the weakness of American leadership in alliance matters at this time.

While generally favoring Mr. Reagan's first-term buildup of the nuclear arsenal, Europeans have

been increasingly unsettled by the strong streak of unilateralism that runs through his more recent initiatives. They cite his "star wars" plan for a space shield to protect the United States from Soviet missiles, his surprising willingness to gain over nuclear deterrence at the Reykjavik summit meeting without consulting with European leaders, and the way the INF Treaty was negotiated over their heads.

This pattern of American disregard for European interests has spurred the most serious discussion of European defense cooperation since the 1950s, with France and West Germany drawing up plans for experimental joint units and France and Britain gazingly beginning to discuss nuclear strategy. There may someday be a bust to Mr. Reagan here as the father of modern European defense.

But instead of using the Brussels meeting to address the problems of European defense directly with the Americans, European leaders will be pushing other agendas, ones benefited by sending Mr. Reagan off stage with a burr in his back than a set of detailed ideas on flexible response.

Chief among these leaders is Mrs. Thatcher, who had pushed the Brussels meeting as an opportunity for the Europeans to press their views

on Mr. Reagan before his late spring trip to Moscow and another superpower summit meeting that inevitably leaves the allies' nerves on edge.

Now the most experienced and domestically secure leader in Europe, she is well positioned to be the caretaker of alliance interests in this American election year — and perhaps beyond, if Mr. Reagan's successor appears to her to be a hopeless wimp. She expects to host a 40th anniversary NATO summit meeting — and to introduce the new American president to Europe from that stage — in London next year.

She staked out her interest in leading the search for a NATO consensus two weeks ago in unnecessarily hawkish remarks she made about Mr. Gorbachev in a closed-door session with NATO ambassadors in Brussels, at the same time that her foreign minister was in Moscow extolling the new warmth of Soviet-British relations. Mrs. Thatcher's aides confirmed her interest in a larger NATO role by promptly publicizing her remarks in the British press.

Earlier they had let it be known that Mrs. Thatcher was ready to authorize the stationing of up to 60 more F-111s in Britain to take up the nuclear slack she fears is being left by the INF Treaty. She would make Britain the new European center of flexible response.

That divides her from France, where President François Mitterrand is reopening the old French quarrel with flexible response, for reasons that can only be guessed.

Mrs. Thatcher's verbal thrashing of Mr. Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac last month in London, over French-German defense cooperation, was attributed by some French officials to her eagerness to keep alliance affairs uncluttered at a time of her ascendancy.

The summit meeting comes at an opportune time for Mr. Mitterrand, who is expected to announce in a week or two his candidacy for re-election, and Mr. Chirac, who is already in that race. Both men put aside France's traditional reserve about such gatherings by agreeing to participate fully in the Brussels photo opportunity.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's contribution was to get President Reagan to agree not to press West Germany at the summit meeting on accepting a new generation of battlefield nuclear missiles. The communiques that the advance teams have drawn up also muffle the argument over opening talks with Moscow on such weapons.

In the end, the planning for Brussels became an exercise in seeing, hearing and speaking no conflict. It has made for a better photo opportunity, but not for better policy.

The Washington Post.

Less America in Europe Should Mean More Europe in NATO

By Dominique Moïsi

PARIS — By forcefully outlining his opposition to NATO's modernization on the eve of the alliance's summit meeting in Brussels, President François Mitterrand is performing a delicate balancing act between East and West. He will attend the Brussels meeting but as a dissonant voice within the alliance, and within France.

As the French presidential election nears, Mr. Mitterrand is increasingly espousing sound and control and disarmament in Europe, as if returning to his pre-1981 Socialist stance.

His recent statements illustrate the confusion of a Europe caught between Mikhail Gorbachev's subtle maneuverings and America's leader's equivocations. The perceived weakening of NATO's American pillar leaves a gap to be filled. Each European country seems to be rushing to fill it in the way it finds historically comfortable: Britain by renewing its old Atlanticist ways; West Germany by turning again toward some sort of united Germany; and France, under Mr. Mitterrand, by renewing its old Gaullist rhetoric.

But there is a striking disparity between the sense of urgency many Europeans feel today and the modesty of the measures they are taking. In part, this reflects a legitimate reluctance to advocate defense measures that would mean not only budgetary sacrifices but the loss of a clear national identity; and in part, the weight of national bureaucracies is to blame. But at a deeper level, the causes of Europe's paralysis are structural.

The European approach to security has been based too exclusively on French-German bilateral cooperation. The joint effort of these two countries stands as a major postwar achievement, the living proof that Europeans can transcend their divisive past. But such bilateralism is no longer sufficient. France is a

nuclear power outside of NATO; West Germany is a nonnuclear power within NATO. West Germany is not about to become nuclear. Nor is France about to return to the integrated military body of NATO.

A multilateral approach is needed to transcend the French-German structural deadlock and to accommodate British sensitivity to what London tends to see as an excessive flirtation between Bonn and Paris. There are two prerequisites for a new European multilateral policy: the good will of the United States and a redefinition of the alliance that would give the European pillar more weight.

The United States must be convinced of its duty to encourage European security efforts by deeds, not just by words. America should, for example, persuade Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that there is no contradiction between Britain's duties to the alliance and its responsibilities to Europe. Equally crucial, Washington should make sure that the flow in NATO arms procurement goes both ways across the Atlantic.

Europeans and Americans alike must understand that the best way to have more Europe tomorrow is to have more alliance today — and an alliance more balanced toward Europe. France must show greater pragmatism and flexibility if this is to work. Once the presidential election is over, France could, for example, return to the NATO planning group, a symbolic gesture that would prove a new French concern for the sensitivities of other Europeans, who have never fully accepted France's self-proclaimed "specificity."

If Europeans want to be taken seriously, they should do less lamenting and less running, and move toward more concrete and positive actions. The worst thing Europe could do is to combine an overly optimistic assessment of Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union with an overly pessimistic reading of America's future role in Europe, and the world. This could produce a state of semi-paralysis on defense matters.

The United States, despite its claims to the contrary, is paying relatively less attention to Europe compared with other areas of the world. Europeans, no longer the sole object of East-West competition, must again become a subject of history. In years to come, as America can ascendancy in the world wanes, there must be more Europe in NATO.

The writer, associate director of the Institut Français des Relations Internationales, contributed this to the International Herald Tribune.

The World Bank Reaps Trouble

By Nicholas N. Eberstadt

WAshington — The World Bank, originally established to help rebuild postwar Europe, and a major source of development aid to Third World governments, is now creating a new role for itself: that of central manager and negotiator in the continuing "Third World debt crisis."

But for the first time since its fledgling days, the World Bank itself appears to be headed for serious financial difficulties. At a time when it is seeking a \$75 billion "general capital increase" — an expanded lending authority, roughly a fifth of which would be guaranteed by the United States — the bank's creditworthiness needs to be re-examined. This scrutiny could raise questions about the soundness of World Bank bonds, and about the liabilities of taxpayers in the Western countries that guarantee the bank's borrowings.

The World Bank's activities depend upon investor confidence in its creditworthiness. Independent services such as Standard & Poor's and Moody's rate the World Bank as an AAA borrower, the highest rating. In effect, the World Bank makes its money through its good credit standing — borrowing cheaply to lend at higher but still attractive rates. Now this standing is threatened.

In recent years, many private

banks have had their credit ratings lowered, in part because of their loan exposure in the Third World. In the view of investors, lending money to these banks has become riskier — in some cases, significantly so. Yet none of these private banks has anything like the exposure of the World Bank.

The largest borrower from the bank is Brazil. Despite recent promises to talk about repayment, the Brazilian government has suspended repayment on nearly \$70 billion of its foreign debt to private creditors. Brazilian officials reportedly told the World Bank that Brazil will default on its bank debt unless the bank keeps lending more to Brazil than it must repay to the bank.

The World Bank is thus on a perilous trajectory. Should any default in its portfolio be recognized, its creditworthiness would suffer. Thereafter it would cost the bank more to borrow money for its loans and operations in the Third World.

Of course financially responsible Third World governments, such as those of Thailand and South Korea, have earned good credit ratings through their own actions. Therein lies the rub. If the bank's credit rating declines, a growing number of creditworthy governments will find it cheaper to borrow on their own rather than through the bank. A process of "negative selection" could begin, whereby the bank would be left, in effect, as lender of last resort — financing only deadbeat governments.

The World Bank's leadership is well aware of these risks. It is attempting to finesse the bank's problems through its request for the general capital increase. With the near doubling of World Bank loan authority now being proposed, more loans could be extended to the Brazils and the Argentinas of the portfolio. A pretense of repayment could thus be effected. The bank's creditworthiness could be maintained, and the bank could continue to operate as usual for at least a few years.

The U.S. Treasury Department has endorsed the bank's proposed capital increase, and now Congress is being asked to provide a guarantee for increased World Bank lending. Congress should review the application with the greatest care. After all, the American people are legally obliged to cover the World Bank's losses. Great as these could be today, they could be vastly larger after the proposed \$75 billion capital increase, which would almost double the existing liability.

Since the beginning of the 1980s, an increasing number of governments in the Third World have refused to repay borrowed money on the terms originally agreed. Almost

all these governments are unwilling, rather than unable, to honor their financial obligations.

Virtually all the governments that are demanding loan rescheduling or debt relief command sizable public sectors, replete with nationalized businesses and state-owned corporations. In some cases, in fact, the government owns more than half of the country's industrial base.

It is plainly wrong to suggest that such governments have no salable assets with which they can meet their loan obligations.

There is more than a little irony in this situation. In the last 20 years the World Bank, as an increasingly independent dispenser of funds to Third World governments, has been partly responsible for the change in official attitudes toward borrowed property that are highlighted today in the "debt crisis." After contributing to the degradation of international banking standards, the World Bank now stands to be a victim of the trend.

The writer is a visiting scholar at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research and a visiting fellow at the Harvard Center for Population Studies. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1888: Less Irish Crime

DUBLIN — Justice Gibson, addressing the County Limerick Grand Jury [on March

OPINION

Conflict 'Told You So' in Advance of Not-So-Super Tuesday

By David S. Broder

President François Mitterrand is reporting the old idea: Put all the Southern states on a single date early in the season that can only give a pliable primary calendar. Create a

Mrs. Thatcher's verbal give counterweight to those Yankee of Mr. Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, up a massive prize of 1,307 Democratic, London, over French-German and 803 Republican delegates — some French officials, was attribution — and watch the candidates to keep alliance efforts the Democratic legislative leaders

The summit meeting come today cannot be faulted for their logic, who is expected to make out at all the way they hoped re-election, and Mr. Chirac could call an information operator put aside France's tradition, that there was no telephone listing serve about such gathering the Democratic candidate who is agreeing to participate fully.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's contribution was to get Presidents to agree not to press West

many at the summit meeting, a new generation of South was a political supermarket, the field nuclear missiles. These goods neatly spread out, munitions that the advanced table for comparison shopping.

In the end, the planning for the Journal and The Constitution, which became an event in another rose on this warm-heating and speaking no longer, smart and lively city.

They were intelligent debates but nothing was missing. When I was

ON MY MIND

ring out of the hotel, a bell captain whether I had a favorite candidate, I do, and he said neither did he, yet I have to keep tossing it all up, he

to the return to the NATO, the hotel employee was black and I

symbolic gesture that would pad for Jesse Jackson on Super Tuesdays, who have never been debates, particularly the Democratic

spoke want to be taken by Jackson as if he were invisible and his old do less hammering and less voices as if they did not exist. On the

more toward more concerned, they almost never talked to actions. The white thing for him or about him. They never to combine an overtly open him the dignity of challenging any of Michael Gorbachev, he said. Nor did they give Southern an overtly political respects the courtesy of a straightforward

a future role in Europe, as well for their votes on primary day.

He could produce a wave of everybody agrees that most blacks

on defense matters.

vote for Jackson, for some good

United States, despite its shortcomings. He has helped make the black

is paying relatively less attention, enormously important. He says

compared with other areas that touch the minds as well as

stamps, and longer he sold the hearts of so many black voters.

competition, that again could be shown that what he says

in the world, for the other candidates to keep talking to each other, pass him, is insulting, to

and to his supporters. They decline to

make any issue with him because they

in the Rest of Europe, new his power among black voters.

the International Herald Tribune candidate hopes Mr. Jackson will

his strength on him one day. Fair

to hope, but to treat Mr. Jackson

his backers with unquestioning acqui-

supported by the largest number of Southern congressmen, Representative Richard Gephardt of Missouri.

The Georgia Democratic chairman, John Henry Anderson, and many of his counterparts in other Dixie states predict that Senator Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee, with more big-name Dixie supporters than anyone else, will finish fourth of the four active candidates next Tuesday. Mr. Gore, the only candidate who was lured into virtually bypassing the leadoff caucuses in Iowa and the first primary in New Hampshire by the promise of Super Tuesday, "will have the most endorsements and the fewest votes" in Florida, said the 1986 Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Steve

Project. Barring a late rally, Super Tuesday is more likely to bury Mr. Gore's hopes than to lift him into contention.

"If that turns out the way I think it's going to," said a veteran South Carolina Democratic national committee man, Donald Fowler. "Jesse Jackson and Mike Dukakis are going to get more delegates than anyone else out of Super Tuesday. And I'm going to call a news conference on March 9 and say 'I told you so.'

Two and a half years ago, when Democratic leaders of the Southern Legislative Conference, backed by several of the region's key governors, began the drive to have all of the Southern delegates chosen on the same date in 1988, Mr. Fowler was one of the few dissenters. A veteran of many past Democratic rules commissions, he and

many others have warned that the strategy was seriously misconceived.

If the thought was — as such Super Tuesday proponents as former Governor Charles Robb of Virginia said — to free candidates from the influence of the liberal special interests that exercised inordinate influence in Iowa and New Hampshire, and return the Democratic Party to "the mainstream," Mr. Fowler said they better think again.

The winners of the Southern presidential primaries in 1984, he pointed out, were liberals: Jesse Jackson, Walter Mondale and Gary Hart. With every passing year, Mr. Fowler said, the turnout in Democratic primaries in the South included larger numbers of blacks, Hispanics, teachers, environmentalists, government employees, feminists and other activists.

Tourism is likely to be very low in states where a March 8 primary is a novelty. With half the states having no party registration, a significant number of conservative whites may be drawn into the torrid Republican contest. The result, Mr. Fowler noted, would be even greater impact for blacks and liberal activists on the Democratic side.

As the campaign enters its last week, many other Southern Democrats are betting, hopefully, that Mr. Fowler will be proved right. Events may confound the predictions, but at the moment Mr. Fowler's 1985 dissent has become 1988's conventional wisdom. The guessing is that the South will give a boost to the two most liberal candidates in the active Democratic field, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Dukakis.

That is good news to some, bad news to others. What is worse for the South is that in a perverse way, because of Super Tuesday, most of the candidates will know less of the South, its people, its potential and its problems, than they would have if the region's Democratic politicians had not become infatuated with their Super Tuesday power play.

With 14 Southern and border states (plus six outside the region) voting in a batch, the visiting candidates of both parties have had only time to skim the surface of this vital, diverse region. They have touched down in the enclaves of their natural supporters, hitting the major metropolitan areas, television studios and satellite centers. But they have not been off the interstate and into the heart of Dixie as they might have if they were campaigning in a handful of Southern states this month, a few more in April and the rest in May and June.

Lannie Griffith, the director of George Bush's Southern campaign, said, "Super Tuesday is going to be a big event in terms of delegates, but it's not a big event for our voters. It's just been too big and too quick."

The South is too big, too complex and much too important to be kissed off in one day, and then forgotten for the rest of the primary campaign. Let's hope this is the last Super Tuesday.

The Washington Post



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A Test of French Consensus

The crucial question not considered by Joseph Fitchett, in his report "Quiet France Boasts NATO Cooperation" (Feb. 19), is whether France's long-standing domestic defense consensus can be maintained through the changes now anticipated in the nation's security posture. The breadth of this consensus seems apparent — the defense debate in France has been conspicuous by its very absence — but its depth is less apparent.

As France broadens its notions of "sanctuary" and pursues closer cooperation with NATO members on a bilateral or multilateral basis, the potential for fissures appearing in the French defense consensus will increase. The limits this consensus can withstand are likely to express themselves in France's domestic policy and will define the limits to future cooperation with its treaty partners.

ALBERT ROBERT M. JONES.

Healey-on-Thames, England.

MARK BUSTILLOS.

Berlin.

What Simon Says, in Print

Regarding "We Know They Can Talk, Can They Write?" (Feb. 24):

Ladd Hamilton asks whether the presidential candidates can write. Well, one of them certainly can.

Senator Paul Simon is a journalist, former editor and publisher, and author of 11 books. He writes a column that is carried by more than 80 newspapers. Simply to read the titles of his books is informative, from "Lovejoy, Mary to Freedom," an account of the Midwest's abolitionist, to "Let's Put America Back to Work," his most recent book on unemployment in the United States.

JOAN R. ELBERT.

Paris.

Bigotry and Bad Logic

Regarding "Potholes in the Fast Lane but No Woe at the Door" (Meantwhile, Feb. 23) by Howard Fast:

As an upper middle-class white American, it was not at all surprising to read of Howard Fast's recent experience in New York, which echoes my own experiences during more than a decade living in the inner city area of Washington, D.C. It was refreshing to have him so accurately describe the diverse mixture of people who came to his assistance.

I am sick to death of people telling me that the city of Washington is an urban jungle with one of the highest crime rates in the United States. Perhaps a lot of people are incorrectly inferring a high crime rate from the fact that the city's citizenry is more than 70 percent black. That is not only bad logic, it is bigotry.

PARKER F. HALLBERG.

Paris.

Playing to the Crowd

The Washington Post editorial "In Their German Way" (Feb. 13) ticks the real question: Why did America put the Germans in this spot anyway? The answer lies in a U.S. president who plays to the crowd and not to the future. Gunlinger of 1981, flower child of 1968, he first battered the nation's economy, then its most important alliance. This actor, playing whatever role sells at the moment, will ride into the sunset leaving America weaker and confused.

HERMAN ARCHER.

Cairo.

The Vatican Factor

White Pope John Paul II ("John Paul Censors Cold War," Feb. 20) is correct about what is happening between East and West in terms of Third World aid, he need look no further than his own backyard for a third factor: the Roman Catholic Church. The church can be blamed for many Third World problems. Why does it not modify its stance

me that the city of Washington is an urban jungle with one of the highest crime rates in the United States. Perhaps a lot of people are incorrectly inferring a high crime rate from the fact that the city's citizenry is more than 70 percent black. That is not only bad logic, it is bigotry.

Yes, it is better this way.

The writer is vice president for European news at NBC. He contributed this to The New York Times.

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Finland - F.M.	1,730	44	950	39	520	33
France - F.F.	1,500	41	820	36	450	29
Germany* - D.M.	580	41	320	35	175	29
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Greece - Dr.	22,000	53	12,000	49	6,600	44
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AMERICAN TOPICS

Pupils Performing In Simplified Classics

Over the past two years Anna-belle Howard, a British-educated primary school teacher, and her husband, Forrest Stone, a writer in residence at Kean College in Union, New Jersey, have supervised the adaptation of 17 plays, among them "Antigone," "The Importance of Being Earnest" and "Julius Caesar," for performance in school by the children themselves. Their program, Classics Theater for Schools, is now used in 38 states, The New York Times reports.

Plots and language are simplified and the plays are shortened so they can be performed in one class period by children 8 to 16 years old. For writers on the project, altering the plays can be excruciating. "You're editing and rewriting a masterpiece," said Suzanne Mustacich, who adapted "Cyrano de Bergerac." "You don't want to cut any of the words because they're so beautiful."

The revised versions, however, do not purport to substitute for the originals, said Ms. Mustacich, but merely to serve as an introduction and inspire students to learn more later. "The idea is to get the main message across," she said. During rehearsal, a copy of the original play is always on hand.

The ethical scope of the plays takes them beyond mere make-believe. "This isn't, 'I'm a tree and let's giggle,'" Mr. Stone said.

A set of play booklets contains phonetic spellings, costume and prop ideas, and diagrams suggesting where actors should stand and how to stage the classroom into a stage set. A classroom kit costs about \$100 from Classic Theater for Schools Publishers, 225 West 33rd St., Suite 11A, New York, N.Y. 10024. U.S.A.

Short Takes

It is too early to tell whether this year's maple syrup season will be as bad as the last two, when production fell to as low as 30 percent of normal because of early warm weather. Sparse output has driven prices as high as \$43 a gallon (\$11 a liter), nearly double the 1985 price. And the high price has prompted more people to tap more trees. Stephen Taylor, New Hampshire's agricultural commissioner, says, "Sales of equipment and tubing indicate a lot more people are getting in this year." He says



Judge Stern/The Associated Press

BUS STOP — William Bonet, a bus passenger, holding Leon Reddick, a robbery suspect, in a full Nelson while awaiting police in Camden, New Jersey. The authorities said Mr. Reddick tried to rob a bus driver of \$33 but was thrown into the windshield when she slammed on the brakes. Mr. Bonet then seized Mr. Reddick and held on until the police arrived.

prices will remain high for a while, regardless of how good this season is, because stocks from last season are low.

A recent survey that showed college freshmen more interested in being well off financially than in developing a meaningful philosophy of life drew a letter to The New York Times from Merrill Orne Young, a faculty member at St. Lawrence University in Canton, New York, saying that all the students interviewed by the writer in 1977 "said at some point in the conversation, 'Of course, I could always get a job like my father's,' for in those days 'money' was nothing to be concerned about: it was practically lying in the streets. Since 1977 what I hear is deepening doubt about the chances of this generation to get jobs as good as their fathers'. The rising trend has not been in materialism, but in pessimism."

Arthur Higbee

Prophetic 1968 Warning: A Racial Chasm in U.S.

By Barbara Vobejda
Washington Post Service

RACINE, Wisconsin — The warning was urgent and unambiguous: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal."

Accompanying that pronouncement, issued March 1, 1968, by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, known as the Kerner Commission, was a call to action, imbued with a grand sense of possibility. The racial chasm illustrated so graphically by widespread U.S. urban riots the previous summer could be bridged, the panel said, by a change in attitudes and the commitment of "the most powerful and richest nation on this earth."

On Monday, a group of experts on race and urban affairs, some of whom had worked on the Kerner Commission report, said that the problems the commission set out to erase two decades ago persist. While great strides have been made in some areas of race relations, the plight of poor, inner-city blacks, they concluded, is more dismal than it was 20 years ago.

"The Kerner report warning is coming true," the group said in its update. "America is again becoming two separate societies."

Tearing the nation today, the new document said, are "quiet riots," in the form of unemployment, poverty, crime, and segregation in housing and schools. "These quiet riots are not as noticeable to outsiders," it said, adding, however, that "they are more destructive of human life than the violent riots of 20 years ago."

Much like their counterparts two decades ago, members of the group called for job and housing programs and urged that affirmative action be enforced and the minimum wage be raised.

The panelists, organized by former Senator Fred R. Harris, Democrat of Oklahoma, one of the original commission's 11 members, spent the weekend assessing the state of black America on the 20th anniversary of the landmark report. They pointed to gains, primarily the emergence of a black middle class, the election of black political leaders and the integration of police forces, newsrooms, corporate offices and other previously segregated workplaces.

But those improvements, they argued, have been overwhelmed by problems that have grown more in-

tractable: the increasing concentration of poverty in an isolated, urban underclass from which it is increasingly difficult to escape.

Moreover, the gap between the rich and the poor has widened, and

kins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and former Senator Edward W. Brooke, Republican of Massachusetts.

The group operated in an amo-

sistence" of poverty, particularly among blacks. In the late 1960s, he said, about 35 percent of the urban poor were found to escape poverty the following year. But that figure is now about 25 percent, he said, an-

al action, greater spending for targeted social programs, economic development and tax reform to help the working poor.

"Most of what we tried worked," said Mr. Harris. "We haven't tried hard enough."

One of the most controversial findings of the 1968 report was conclusion that the explosive racial strife was the result not of conspiracy, as many suspected, of deeply imbedded racism.

While there was consensus in Wisconsin that racism still remains a critical national problem, there was less agreement over its importance.

"Racism is no longer the issue," said Ronald Mincey, a visiting scholar at the Urban Institute, citing the growth of the black middle class. "There is something more complex going on."

He urged that the issue be generalized beyond race, so that policy proposals could be aimed at poverty and the underclass, regardless of race.

But Gary Orfield, a professor at the University of Chicago, agreed: "We can't just deal with economic conditions. We must deal with the racial conditions in inner cities."

Continuing discrimination, said, is largely to blame for residential segregation that remains in the cities studied by the commission. And housing patterns lead to school segregation and unequal services, he said.

The panelists were clearly proud of the work done 20 years ago. The tone this time was not celebratory.

"If we don't do anything we will tell people there's a lot more work to be done, we would have done something," Professor W-

kins said.

To pretend that nothing has happened in 20 years is just dead wrong," he said.

The document written by Mr. Harris and adopted by the partici-

Even the most pessimistic observers of the social scene in the late 1960s probably did not foresee or anticipate the sharp increases in the rates of social dislocation and the massive breakdown of social institutions in ghetto areas."

William J. Wilson, University of Chicago sociologist

difficulties previously associated with blacks now extend to many Hispanics, they said.

"We're disappointed now, 20 years after Kerner, because the country isn't as different as we thought it would be," said Roger W. Wilkins, assistant U.S. attorney general at the time of the commission report and now a professor at George Mason University.

Survey of the social scene in the late 1960s probably did not foresee or anticipate the sharp increase in the rates of social dislocation and the massive breakdown of social institutions in ghetto areas," said

William J. Wilson, a sociologist at the University of Chicago.

Ironically, Mr. Wilson said, one of society's gains has created a new problem: the migration of middle-class blacks out of the inner city has left those areas without role models, economically and socially segregated and devoid of stabilizing influences, such as strong churches, schools and businesses.

The commission, appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson, got its name from its chairman, the governor of Illinois, Otto Kerner. Its members included Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York; Roy Wil-

kinson, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and former Senator Edward W. Brooke, Republican of Massachusetts.

The group met last weekend at a retreat on Lake Michigan, and there was more agreement than there was on the Kerner Commission. And that time, it was an intellectual exercise, less urgent and removed from crisis.

But for some who attended, the exercise was more sobering than their work on the presidential panel — the sense of promise dulled by two decades of experience.

While civil rights legislation and Great Society programs enabled middle- and working-class families to leave the inner cities, their departure, in combination with economic and other factors, has created urban ghettos far worse than those of the late 1960s. Mr. Wilson

Greg J. Duncan, program director at the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, presented evidence of another troubling development, an increase in the per-

Waldheim Linked to Deportations

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — While serving in the German Army, Kurt Waldheim forwarded a request for the mass deportation of Greeks to labor camps in Germany but that he was aware of a German document.

The authenticity of the document, found in the U.S. National Archives and made public in New York Monday, was confirmed by John Russell, a Justice Department spokesman.

He said it was among documents on which the government based its decision to place Mr. Waldheim in the United States, it said he had "assisted or otherwise participated" in mass deportation of civilians.

Mr. Waldheim has declared that he is innocent of war crimes.

Gerold Christian, Mr. Waldheim's spokesman, said he had no comment on the document, which is a message between German Army officers in the Balkans in 1943.

Mr. Waldheim at that time was a lieutenant serving as deputy opera-

tions officer of the German General Staff, attached to the 11th Italian Army in Athens.

The World Jewish Congress said Mr. Waldheim did not authorize the deportation of Greeks to labor camps in Germany but that he was aware of the plan.

The document apparently has been used before, according to Manfred Messerschmidt, a West German historian who was a member of an international commission that investigated Mr. Waldheim's World War II record.

The historians' commission and a report published last year by Mr. Waldheim's aides both reviewed what seems to be the same document, Mr. Messerschmidt said.

U.S. to Postpone Brazil Sanctions

Reuters

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration has decided to postpone planned import sanctions against Brazil because of progress being made in a computer dispute, according to the U.S. representative, Clayton K. Yeutter.

Mr. Yeutter said that recent Brazilian action to end trade curbs removed some U.S. concerns. If Brazilian implementation of its computer and software product



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Lynching Chills Arabs Who Aid Israelis

By Glenn Frankel

Washington Post Service

QABATIYAH, Israeli-Occupied West Bank — Every time Palestinian demonstrators passed Mohamed Ayed's house on the main road through this town in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, they would chant, "Long live Palestine, death to the traitor!" Sometimes Mr. Ayed could be seen peering uneasily through an upstairs window.

One of the findings of the inquiry conclusion is that the "cold strike was the conspiracy" — the secret of deeply ingrained

While there was a critical moment, there was less aggression.

"Racism is an issue," said Danny Rubenstein, an Israeli journalist.

The town officials who lead Shabot said, "and the town of Qabatiyah itself will be punished."

Now there is fear that the old lines between "acceptable" collaboration and betrayal are blurring and that Palestinians holding civilian jobs in the occupation administration and even moderates seeking political dialogue with Israel or the United States may find themselves lumped together with the Mohammed Ayed.

"It's all right to work for the civil administration, to be a teacher in a government school, even to be a policeman," said Danny Rubenstein, an Israeli journalist who has long covered the West Bank.

His killing has sent a wave of fear through the many Palestinians who cooperate with Israel in its military occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and a wave of anger and remorse through the Israeli authorities who failed to save his life.

Some believe that a new phase in which the uprising turns inward and Palestinians begin killing each other. But it may also be a sign of something equally important: the end of the old arrangements through which Israel has ruled the territories with the passive consent, and sometimes even active involvement, of its Arab subjects.

Residents say everyone in Qabatiyah knew Mr. Ayed was an informer under the protection of two

operators of the Shin Bet, the Israeli internal security service, who were assigned to oversee police matters in the town.

He and other known collaborators have long been part of the political and social landscape of the West Bank, as are the well-connected Arab intermediaries who, for a fee, arrange building, travel and business permits for residents, and the local Arab police or

ers of the lynching, although there were no charges filed and no trial.

Those responsible will be found and punished with full severity," Major General Amram Mizrahi, the military commander of the West Bank, said in an interview with Israeli radio.

The smaller group that did the deed and incited the hundreds to go out on the streets and to go wild, "we'll deal with them," General

under Israeli protection. But they are loathed.

Residents of Qabatiyah say Mr. Ayed boasted of his Shin Bet connections and liked to show off his Uzi submachine gun, a weapon that he and a handful of other collaborators were allowed to carry for self-protection.

About six months ago, someone tried to kill Mr. Ayed by placing a bomb in his car after midnight, residents say. But he escaped from it with machine-gun fire. The next morning, those allegedly responsible were arrested.

Demonstrators had marched past Mr. Ayed's house for several days last week, protesting the impending visit to Israel of the U.S. secretary of state, George P. Shultz. Residents could not say exactly why the march of Feb. 24 ended in violence. Army officials say they believe the attack was premeditated retaliation by the families of some of those Mr. Ayed informed upon.

Whatever its origins, the attack turned into a full-scale siege after Mr. Ayed shot and killed the four-year-old boy. "He killed first," said one witness. "After that, the atmosphere was that this man must die."

The crowd knew that Mohamed Ayed was not the only collaborator in Qabatiyah. Soon after his death, residents say, someone broadcast a call from the local mosque for the others to turn in their weapons there. Four men did and are said to have taken an oath on the Koran never to work for Israel again.

Residents say someone from the mosque turned in the weapons to the military governor's headquarters in Jenin. The army refused to comment on this, but military sources said that incidents of collaborators turning in their weapons and pledging not to aid the Israelis had taken place recently in at least two West Bank towns.

An army spokesman said the siege of Mr. Ayed's house and his killing took two hours, not five, as some witnesses said, and that the army had not had enough time to save his life.

But the army quickly retaliated.

Just after midnight the next morning, residents say, dozens of soldiers poured into Qabatiyah, rounding up young men and taking them to a school in town where witnesses say many were beaten.

The say there were blood stains on the ground at the school yard the next morning. Electricity and phone lines into town have been cut off ever since, residents say.

The most chilling message from the death of Mr. Ayed, said Mr. Rubenstein, is that Israel may no longer be able to protect its vast network of informers and collaborators.

He said that Mr. Ayed's death is one more indication that in places like Qabatiyah, Israel is no longer in control.

"We might be heading into a new phase where the norms do not apply anymore."

Danny Rubenstein, Israeli journalist



Lucas Perin/The Washington Post

A Palestinian and an Israeli soldier eye each other in Nablus after a demonstration in the West Bank city.

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Jacques Delors, President, European Commission

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Yannos Papantoniou, Deputy Minister of National Economy

THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Theodore Papantoniou, President, Federation of Greek Industries

BUSINESS IN GREECE: PANEL DISCUSSION

John Grimes, Vice President, General Dynamics International Corp.

Eustathios Aravitis, Managing Director, Dow Chemical Hellas S.A.

Peter Trautschold, General Manager, Wella Cosmetic Co.

Ethniki Petrou, Managing Director, Bebelak Hellas, A.B.E.

Leontinos Koskios, President, The National Council of Free Enterprise and

President, Food Industry Association

Moderator: Athanasios Frontisidis, President, Hellenic Export Organization

Reception and Dinner

GUEST SPEAKER

Andreas G. Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece

TUESDAY, MARCH 29

THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY

Stathis Yiannas, Alternate Minister of Defense

THE SHIPPING INDUSTRY

Eustathios Gourgiotis, President, Union of Greek Shipowners

TOURISM AND RELATED PROJECTS

Nicholas Skoula, Minister for Tourism

THE CHANGING ROLE OF BANKING IN GREECE

Stelios Panagopoulos, Governor of National Bank of Greece

GREECE: THE CHALLENGE OF THE 1990's

Ambassador Edward E. Streeter, former US

Ambassador to the OECD

Luncheon

GUEST SPEAKER

His Excellency Robert V. Keeley, US

Ambassador to Greece

Close of Conference

CONFERENCE CHAIRMEN

Dimitris N. Petalides, President of the American-Hellenic Chamber of Commerce

Charles J. Potts, President of the American-Hellenic Chamber of Commerce

Axel Krause, Corporate Editor, International Herald Tribune

* to be confirmed.

REGISTRATION INFORMATION

The fee for the conference is \$250 for all participants registering from outside Greece. For those registering in Greece, the fee is Drachme 50,000. The fee includes luncheons, a dinner and conference documentation. Fees are payable in advance of the conference and will be returned in full for any cancellation that is postmarked on or before March 11. Cancellations after this date will be charged the full fee. Substitutions can be made at any time.

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is the unique, full-length history of the world's first international newspaper. Author Charles Robertson, a professor of government at Smith College, spent several years combing through the paper's archives, interviewing its personnel (both active and retired) and then assembling a vast range of materials into a

Delvalle Calls for Boycott Panamanian Fees Are the Target

By Neil A. Lewis
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Supporters of Eric Arturo Delvalle have said here that he has issued orders from hiding in Panama intended to create a cash flow crisis for the Panamanian government.

Mr. Delvalle, who maintains that his removal Friday as president of Panama at the hands of the military强人, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, is illegal, has called for a boycott of all payments to the government. In particular, he asked Panamanian embassies throughout the world to refuse to send shipping fees to Panama.

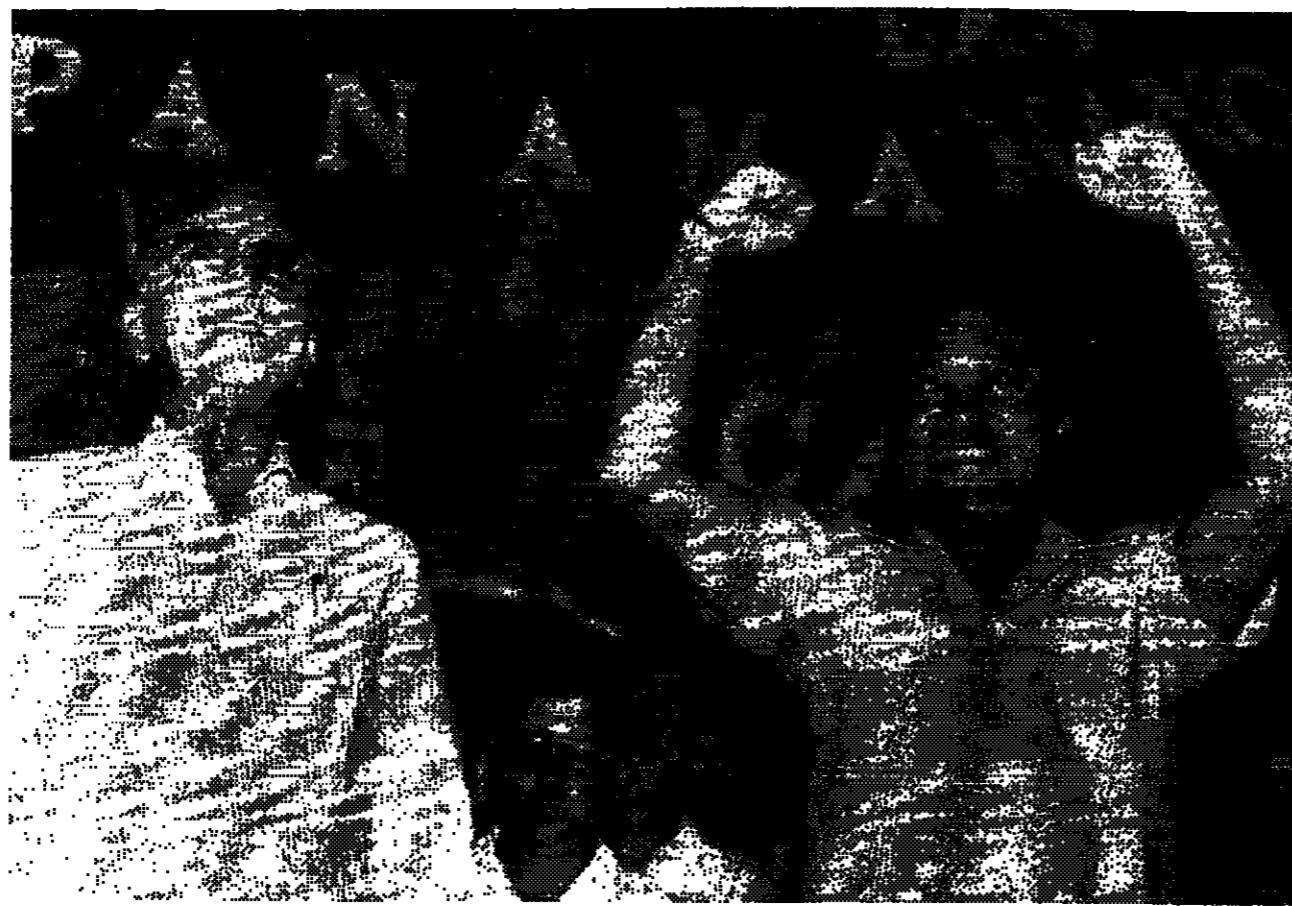
The embassies collect the fees that shipping companies pay to have their vessels registered in Panama and fly the Panamanian flag. Gabriel Lewis Galindo, a former ambassador to Washington who is serving as Mr. Delvalle's spokesman in Washington, said Monday that more than 11,000 vessels were registered in Panama and that they earned millions of dollars annually for the Panamanian treasury.

The Reagan administration has been pressing General Noriega, who was indicted on drug charges in Florida last month, to relinquish power. With encouragement from the administration, Mr. Delvalle tried and failed to dismiss General Noriega last week. Mr. Delvalle has gone into hiding.

A senior American official said that the Panamanian government was desperately short of hard cash and relied on the shipping fees to replenish its small reserves.

Panama does not print its own money, relying instead on American dollars.

Mr. Lewis said he spoke by telephone Monday with Mr. Delvalle



President Manuel Solis Palma, left, and General Manuel Antonio Noriega at a rally in Panama City attended by 2,000 supporters.

at his hiding place in Panama. He said Mr. Delvalle had declared that any Panamanian official who sent shipping and other fees to Panama could face embezzlement charges. Mr. Delvalle has also asked Panamanian citizens to withhold payments from the government.

Mr. Delvalle's proclamation is his latest effort to reinforce his assertion that he remains the lawful president of Panama. According to Mr. Lewis, Panamanian consul general in Hamburg, London and New York, all important shipping centers, remain loyal to Mr. Delvalle and have agreed to withhold any fees they receive. The situation at the embassies in the Far East was less certain, he said.

Administration officials said that they were hopeful that General Noriega's civilian and military supporters would find it increasingly difficult to continue supporting him. But the officials acknowledged that they had proceeded

without a clear strategy in mind. "Once we started down the path" of trying to remove General Noriega, "we tried to seize opportunities," an official said. Specific steps were taken on an ad hoc basis, he said.

In addition, Congress ended Panama's sugar quota and required the United States to vote against all loans to Panama from any of the international banking organizations. The World Bank recently canceled a \$50 million part of a loan to Panama, saying that it had refused to meet the bank's conditions.

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without a clear strategy in mind. "Once we started down the path" of trying to remove General Noriega, "we tried to seize opportunities," an official said. Specific steps were taken on an ad hoc basis, he said.

■ **Strike Support Grows**

A general strike called to protest the rule of General Noriega appeared to gain some momentum in its second day Tuesday after receiving little visible support Monday. The Associated Press reported from Panama City.

In one neighborhood, plainclothes security agents firing handguns and shotguns attacked a handful of anti-government demonstrators and bystanders Tuesday. There were no immediate reports of injuries or other details.

Organizers of the indefinite workstoppage had predicted that they had proceeded

without a clear strategy in mind. "Once we started down the path" of trying to remove General Noriega, "we tried to seize opportunities," an official said. Specific steps were taken on an ad hoc basis, he said.

■ **Drug Trafficking Charges**

President Ronald Reagan advised Congress on Tuesday that Panama, Afghanistan, Iran and Syria had not cooperated with the United States to halt drug trafficking and were liable to an aid cutoff and other sanctions, The Washington Post reported.

The allegation against Panama had been expected. Ann B. Wroble, assistant secretary of state for international narcotics matters, said that the decision would have no immediate political effect since U.S. aid to Panama already has been suspended.

■ **Shuttle's Middle East Mission**

But Secretary of State George P. Shultz, traveling in search of a solution for that troubled area, has been forced by a state of war to make long detours via the Gulf of Aqaba, deprived even of looking down from his airplane window on the bitterly contested hills that are the main subject of his concerns.

Mr. Shultz's peace mission, tangled in the complexities of the Middle East, has in many ways remained similarly remote from the ancient land he is seeking to pacify.

The shades of diplomacy on his plane — call it "self-rule" or "full autonomy" — seem strangely distant from the simple passion of Palestinians on the West Bank demanding their own country or the equally simple passion of Jewish settlers insisting the ground has been made theirs for all time and Israeli soldiers enforcing the future.

In the West Bank and Gaza itself, four Palestinians were killed that day by Israeli troops putting down riots.

■ **Shuttle's Middle East Mission**

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An Israeli colonel interviewed

last week on the state-run television for instance, said the term "riots" or "disturbances" had become "irrelevant." It was, he said, "a struggle the roots of which is the struggle between two national entities over this country."

Similarly, Mohammed Zekri, a Palestinian vegetable merchant in the Ramallah city market, said Mr. Shultz was approaching the problem from the wrong angle because

A Land Shultz Did Not See

On Middle East Mission, Real Issues Were Remote

By Edward Cody
and David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — The flight to Amman from Ben Gurion Airport near Tel Aviv could be a short hop right across the West Bank.

But Secretary of State George P. Shultz, traveling in search of a solution for that troubled area, has been forced by a state of war to make long detours via the Gulf of Aqaba, deprived even of looking down from his airplane window on the bitterly contested hills that are the main subject of his concerns.

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be crushed by force for the present, have adopted sharply different positions on what Mr. Shultz is trying to do for the future.

The rawness of the West Bank struggle has been starkly visible on television during nearly three months of violent clashes between youths throwing stones and Israeli soldiers swinging clubs.

But less visible is Israel's methodical civilian and military implantation across the territories captured in 1967, which has progressed substantially since it was last a subject of high-level U.S. concern during abortive talks on Palestinian autonomy that followed the 1979 Egyptian-Israel peace treaty.

At that time, estimates were that 13,000 Jewish settlers lived on the West Bank. The estimate has risen to more than 65,000 men and 100 settlements.

This has created what a semi-military officer called "a very intricate situation" in which Arab and Jewish communities often lie side by side, defying the U.S. idea of separation to make way for Palestinian self-rule even more than it did when the autonomy talks broke down in 1981.

Although he has staked his prestige on negotiating a settlement of these situations, Mr. Shultz has never visited the West Bank or Gaza as secretary of state, U.S. diplomats said.

Since riots began in December, prompting Mr. Shultz's mission, U.S. officials have been ordered not to visit the occupied territories except after checking with a U.S. security officer, they added.

Kurds Said to Kill 500 Iraqis

REUTERS

NICOSIA — Iranian-backed Kurdish guerrillas killed 500 Iraqi troops and injured 1,000 in a "lightning operation" in northern Iraq that began Monday and is continuing, the Iranian press agency IRNA reported Tuesday.

The two Israeli leaders and their

ally parties, although they agree

that the Palestinian uprising must

be stopped, have different

views on how to do it.

Both sides are agreed that

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Tunisian Music, Strings Attached

By Mike Zwerin
International Herald Tribune

be crushed by forces that have adopted strategies on what to do for the future.

The town of Anouar, a television drama, months of violent youths throwing stones, soldiers swinging clubs.

But less visible is the local conflict, captured in 1987, when a group of youths, including a son of a Palestinian concern during the peace treaty.

At that time, 13,000 Jewish settlers had risen to more than 100 settlements.

This has created an Israeli military, "very intricate," Arab and Jewish settlements, a kind of separate Palestinian society that did not break up.

Although he is negotiating these situations, Mr. Zwerin has never visited Gaza as a member of a diplomatic corps.

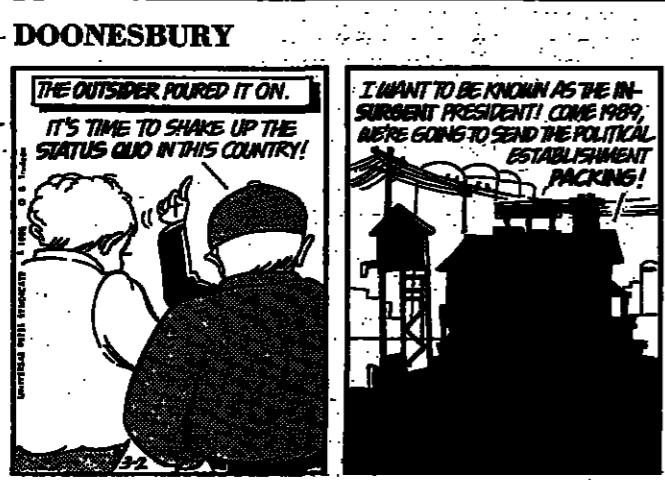
Since 1982, he has been prompting Mr. Shultz, U.S. officials, not to visit the occupied territories except after a security official.

Kurds Said to Kill 500

NICOSIA — Iraqi Kurdish guerrillas killed 500 troops and civilians in lightning operations in Iraq that began March 1, continuing the Iranian

NYRA reported last

DOONESURY



NYSE Most Actives

Market Sales

NYSE Index

NYSE Diary

Odd-Lot Trading in N.Y.

Dow Jones Bond Averages

Dow Jones Averages

NYSE Closing

AMEX Diary

Standard & Poor's Index

NASDAQ Index

AMEX Stock Index

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere.

NYSE Closes Narrowly Lower

United Press International

NEW YORK — Prices closed narrowly lower Tuesday on the New York Stock Exchange in active but directionless trading that analysts saw as a normal consolidation after the market's recent strong gains.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which rose 48.41 Monday, fell 1.16 to close at 2,070.46.

Declines outpaced advances by nearly an 8-to-2 ratio. Volume totaled 200 million shares, down from 236 million Monday.

Broad-market indexes also slipped. The New York Stock Exchange composite index eased 0.28 to 150.18. Standard & Poor's 500-stock index fell 0.60 to 267.22. The price of an average share fell by 6 cents.

Traders said a period of consolidation was neither unexpected nor worrisome, considering the solid gains the market scored on Monday in particular and over the last three weeks in general.

The Dow's 48-point advance Monday breached a key psychological barrier at the 2,050 level, market experts said, carrying the blue-chip index to its highest close since Oct. 16.

"Once you break out of a trading range like that, everybody sits back and waits for fireworks," said Joseph Barthel, director of technical strategy at Butcher & Singer Inc. of Philadelphia. "But the buying interest never really developed," today, he said.

Tom Gallagher, managing director in charge

of capital commitment at Oppenheimer & Co., said that while the expected buying had largely failed to materialize, "you can't criticize" the market's recent strong gains.

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Broad-market indexes also slipped. The New York Stock Exchange composite index eased 0.28 to 150.18. Standard & Poor's 500-stock index fell 0.60 to 267.22. The price of an average share fell by 6 cents.

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that, everybody sits back and waits for fireworks," said Joseph Barthel, director of technical strategy at Butcher & Singer Inc. of Philadelphia. "But the buying interest never really developed," today, he said.

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said that while the expected buying had largely failed to materialize, "you can't criticize" the market's recent strong gains.

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MADISON AVENUE

U.S. Insurance Institute
Warms Up to AdvertisingBy PHILIP H. DOUGHERTY
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The 29-year-old Insurance Information Institute publishes brochures, monographs and books; conducts original research; sponsors seminars and trains speakers for radio and television. In the last five years, the New York-based institute also has discovered the mass-communications value of advertising.

After a small print campaign, the institute, comprising about 300 property insurance firms, moved cautiously into television, and soon it was spending millions of dollars annually on such causes as cracking down on drunken driving and curbing the explosive growth of liability litigation.

The 1988 advertising campaign, despite the great successes of recent television commercials, will be entirely in business and news magazines. Alan M. Siegel, chairman of Siegel & Gale, the Saatchi & Saatchi subsidiary that does the institute's advertising, said the client wants to give a selectively targeted audience a lot of information and offer even more information through co-op ads.

This year's campaign, Mr. Siegel said, "extends the image campaign to explain how the insurance mechanism works, spelling out the benefits in addition to economic protection."

Using specific examples, the ads recount what insurance companies did for a homeowner and a small business that were burned out. One ad describes the help offered by an insurance company after thefts in a home and a business.

It spends millions
on efforts to
discourage drunk
driving and liability
litigation.

George Patterson Ltd., Australia's largest advertising agency, has enjoyed the best year in its 53-year history, with billings of \$295 million in U.S. dollars. Net income was \$5.7 million, up 34 percent from 1986. The growth came in a market that was fairly flat. Geoffrey A. Cousins, chairman and chief executive, also sees a relatively flat market for the industry in 1988. He predicts it will be "slightly about 5 percent less than inflation."

AS HEAD OF PATTERSON, Mr. Cousins, 45, is also a member of the management committee of the parent company, Saatchi & Saatchi's Blacker Spielvogel Bates of New York. He is somewhat of a hero within London-based Saatchi. His company, in addition to being named agency of the year in 1987 by three different groups in Australia, also had the best 1987 financial performance of any unit within publicly held Saatchi, the world's biggest advertising company.

Patterson also drew more new business (15 accounts with billings of about \$57 million) than any other Australian agency. Those assignments included U.S. advertising for Foster's beer. The agency already handles ads for Foster's in Australia. Patterson's spots blend easily with American advertising, and its value for cost of production is equal to the best in the United States.

Accounts

• Burkhardt & Christy has been named to do advertising for four dress lines of St. Gillian Fashion Group.

• Tracy-Locke of Dallas, part of the Omnicom Group, has won the retail business of Texas Commerce Bank of Houston, a subsidiary of Chemical New York Corp.

People

• Morton Lowenstein has been named executive vice president at Young & Rubicam.

• Ronald A. Louie and Judson Savickas have become senior vice presidents at DDB Needham Worldwide.

• Robert L. Formaro has rejoined Braniff Airways of Dallas as senior vice president for marketing and planning.

Currency Rates

Cross Rates		March 1	
Dollar	DM	FF	HL
Brussels	1.00	1.00	1.00
London	1.213	1.00	1.00
Frankfurt	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (B)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris	1.00	1.00	1.00
New York (C)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (B)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (B)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (D)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (D)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (B)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (D)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (D)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (E)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (E)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (E)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (E)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (F)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (F)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (F)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (F)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (G)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (G)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (G)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (G)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (H)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (H)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (H)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (H)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (I)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (I)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (I)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (I)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (J)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (J)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (J)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (J)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (K)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (K)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (K)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (K)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (L)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (L)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (L)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (L)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (M)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (M)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (M)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (M)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (N)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (N)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (N)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (N)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (O)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (O)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (O)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (O)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (P)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (P)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (P)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (P)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (Q)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (Q)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (Q)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (Q)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (R)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (R)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (R)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (R)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (S)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (S)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (S)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (S)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (T)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (T)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (T)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (T)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (U)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (U)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (U)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (U)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (V)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (V)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (V)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (V)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (W)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (W)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (W)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (W)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (X)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (X)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (X)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (X)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (Y)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (Y)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (Y)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (Y)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (Z)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (Z)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (Z)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (Z)	1.00	1.00	1.00

Forward Rates		March 1	
Currency	30-day	90-day	180-day
Dollar	1.213	1.244	1.275
Brussels	1.00	1.00	1.00
London	1.00	1.00	1.00
Frankfurt	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (B)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris	1.00	1.00	1.00
New York (C)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (B)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (B)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (D)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (D)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (D)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (D)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (E)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (E)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (E)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (E)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (F)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (F)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (F)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (F)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (G)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (G)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (G)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (G)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (H)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (H)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (H)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (H)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (I)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (I)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (I)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zurich (I)	1.00	1.00	1.00
London (J)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris (J)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Tokyo (J)	1.00	1.00	1.00
Zur			

CURRENCY MARKETS

Dollar Ends Narrowly Mixed in N.Y.

Reuters

NEW YORK — The dollar closed narrowly mixed Tuesday in thin trading, little moved by a larger-than-expected drop in U.S. leading indicators for January and supportive remarks by the U.S. Treasury secretary.

"The market is really suffering from a considerable malaise," said Peter Rogers of Bank Leu Ltd., characterizing the lack of activity.

Dealers said they do not expect activity to pick up much before the release of U.S. trade statistics for January.

"We're back to square one," Mr. Rogers said, "the obsession with the trade numbers on March 17."

The dollar closed at 1.6862 Deutsche marks, down from 1.6875 at Monday's close, but rose against the yen, closing at 128.35, against 128.250.

The U.S. currency rose to 1.3925 Swiss francs from 1.3910, but fell to 5.7075 French francs from 5.7145.

The dollar was weaker against the British pound, which closed at \$1.7760, against \$1.7735 on Monday.

The negative impact of a report of a 0.6 percent drop in the U.S. Index of Leading Indicators in January was largely offset by an upward revision for December. The Commerce Department said that the index of economic indicators

London Dollar Rates		
Clinton	Tue.	Mon.
Deutsche mark	1.6865	1.6860
Pound sterling	1.7775	1.7748
Japanese yen	128.35	128.25
Swiss franc	1.3925	1.3920
French franc	5.7085	5.7075
Source: Reuters		

tions Committee, "the real trade balance should continue to improve."

In London, the dollar also ended mixed in dull trading.

The dollar closed there at 1.5865 DM, down from 1.6880 DM at Monday's close, and at 128.35, up marginally from 128.30.

The U.S. currency closed at 1.3925 Swiss francs, up from 1.3920, and at 5.7085 French francs, down from 5.7185. It fell against the British pound, which ended at \$1.7775, against \$1.7740 Monday.

Traders said the pound benefited from a general lack of interest in the dollar and a delayed response to a report Monday of a record \$905 million (\$1.6 billion) deficit in Britain's current account for January.

Dealers said the market apparently did not have second thoughts about an explanation by the British Treasury. Treasury officials warned Monday that the trade figures might be distorted because of new customs procedures.

Earlier in Europe, the dollar was fixed in Frankfurt at 1.6895 DM, up from 1.6884 on Monday, and in Paris at 5.7193 French francs, up from 5.7160.

The dollar closed in Zurich at 1.3930 Swiss francs, up from 1.3905.

Shearson Sees Gold Trading At \$420 for Most of 1988

Reuters

LONDON — A leading brokerage, Shearson Lehman Brothers, said Tuesday that the price of gold probably would trade at about \$420 an ounce for most of 1988 but should rally at year-end.

The price of gold, which recently hit 10-month lows, firms Tuesday in New York after a rebound there Monday. Futures for April delivery settled at \$422.40 an ounce, up from \$421.90 Monday.

In an annual review of the industry, Shearson said there was a possibility of a "short-lived downward spike to \$380, but this, if it comes about, will be fleeting."

Its main forecasts were based on a slowdown in economic growth and no immediate rise in inflation. Sustained growth and rising inflation could see gold soar to a peak of \$525, it said, while a deflationary recession would decrease the price to a low of \$380.

The price of gold would be buoyed by demand from Japanese investors and for jewelry in Asia, it said.

"The center of gravity of the gold market is moving inexorably eastward, with gold jewelry becoming increasingly important in Japan and surging interest in Taiwan, following the release of import restrictions," the review said.

It said that healthy demand from Japanese investors, resulting in part from a change in tax laws beginning in April 1988, should erode a surplus in the world market.

The review forecast that jewelry demand in the non-Communist world rise slightly this year to 815 metric tons (896.5 short tons), from 800 tons in 1987, buoyed by the increased demand from Asia.

Mine supply was projected at 1,449 tons in 1988, up from 1,362 last year, with the most spectacular increases in North America and Australia.

Ever-increasing investment in Latin America will push the continent's output of gold past 200 tons in 1988 for the first time, the review said. Only seven years ago, production was below 100 tons.

South African output continues to decline and is expected to fall to 595 tons in 1988, from 607 last year and 640 in 1986, it said.

DAT Anti-Copying Device Fails Test

By John Burgess

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The National Bureau of Standards, after a five-month study, on Tuesday labeled as ineffective and often harmful to sound quality an electronic system that the recording industry wants used in a new generation of tape recorders to block free sound of the compact disk home copying.

"We feel the system does not achieve the stated purpose," Dr. John Lyons, director of the NBS National Engineering Laboratory, said at a news conference. "For some listeners, for some selections, there is a discernible difference."

The bureau's findings, in its study, which was ordered by Congress, led a coalition that is opposing the system's use to declare victory and predict that digital audio tape machines, or DAT, will soon go on sale in the United States. But the Recording Industry Association of America said it would continue the fight and sue any company

that introduces them before the issue is settled to its satisfaction.

The issue arose when companies in Japan and Western Europe moved to put digital audio tape players on the consumer market. These machines apply to tape cassettes the same digital technology that produces the crisp, distortion-free sound of the compact disk.

Manufacturers and consumer groups praised the new sound. But to the recording industry, DAT was a pirate's dream, a machine for making "perfect clones" and cheating artists and companies of millions of dollars of revenues.

With protection of "intellectual property" becoming a rising trade issue, DAT attracted much attention in Congress. The issue added to tensions in Washington's trade relationship with Tokyo because production of the machines is centered in Japan.

The recording industry proposed that protection be accomplished with a special spoiler chip developed by CBS Records before the

company's recent purchase by Sony Corp.

Music on compact disks or pre-recorded DAT tapes that the manufacturer wanted to protect from copying would be treated to delete in places a narrow band of frequencies at around 5840 hertz, a tone that lies between the highest B flat and B on an 88-key piano. A special chip in the recorder would listen for this "notching." If it detected it for 15 seconds or more, the chip would shut off the recording function for 25 seconds.

The National Bureau of Standards, commissioned by Congress, put the CBS system to extensive laboratory and hearing tests using a selection of classical and popular music. The board found that the system often does not work, that some listeners can detect the omission in certain pieces and that the system can be bypassed fairly easily by people with basic engineering training using about \$100 worth of components.

GM Will Drop Its Fiero Sports Model This Year

Reuters

DETROIT — General Motors Corp. said Tuesday its Pontiac division would drop the mid-engine Fiero sports car at the end of the 1988 model year.

In a statement, the company said sales of the plastic-bodied automobile had fallen sharply since the car was introduced in 1983.

Figures show that in 1984, the first full sales year, Pontiac sold about 101,000 Fieros. In 1987, sales dropped to 47,000 and in the 1988 model year, which began in October 1987, only 9,600 Fieros have been sold.

GM said it would indefinitely shut the plant in Pontiac, Michigan, where the cars are produced. The move will result in the layoff of 1,109 workers, the company said.

There are already an additional 1,241 workers on indefinite layoff at the plant. J. Michael Losh, general manager of the Pontiac division, said the decision to drop the car was based on an assessment of the market for two-seater sports cars.

He said the market was too crowded and there was no chance that sales would grow.

Ignoring Warnings, Japan Insurers Speculate in Currencies

Reuters

TOKYO — Many Japanese life insurance companies are playing the foreign exchange market aggressively despite Finance Ministry warnings to investors not to speculate in currencies, according to industry sources.

Foreign-exchange dealers said the increase in speculative trading was certain to make the market even more volatile.

That was the bad news for the major industrialized democracies, which have been trying over the past year to clamp down on speculative trading and stabilize currencies.

Until recently, life insurers limited currency trading to selling dollars forward as a hedge against exchange losses on their foreign bond holdings, said market analysts.

But five of the biggest 15 players in the Tokyo currency market are now life insurance companies, one industry source said. When they enter the market, the dollar often jumps, dealers said.

Insurers have been anxious to avoid publicizing their foreign exchange activity because the authorities publicly warned investors against speculative dealing last year.

But with markets as volatile as they are, life insurance companies said they had little choice but to step up their currency trading.

"The fact is that the foreign exchange

market is moving and we should move with it," the foreign exchange manager of a major life insurance company said. "We want to become more of a specialist, dealing in spot and swaps as well as hedge transactions."

He said that his company recently hired 10 currency traders for its newly created foreign

be more involved in the spot market," he said.

Both managers declined to be identified.

Japan's 24 life insurers posted total losses of 2.24 trillion yen (\$17.47 billion) in the year to March 31, 1987, on their foreign bond portfolios. This was mainly caused by

About five of the biggest 15 players in the Tokyo currency market are said to be life-insurance companies. And when they enter the market, the dollar often jumps, dealers say.

exchange division in response to exchange rate pressures.

"Before that, each investment department conducted foreign exchange activities separately, and we found that inefficient," the manager said.

Another large life insurer doubled its dealing staff and tripled its daily spot volume over the last year in response to the dollar's fall, a foreign exchange manager working there said.

"More and more we are realizing that in order to achieve effective hedging, we should

dollar's fall against the yen, the Japan Life Insurance Association said. The yen has risen more than 80 percent against the dollar since 1985, although it is currently relatively stable at about 130 to the dollar.

"Our main purpose" in increasing involvement in currency trading "is to achieve foreign-exchange profits, not for speculation itself but to offset our bond losses," the second foreign exchange manager said.

Many life insurers have begun to look at foreign exchange as a profit focus apart from

hedging, said Richard Koo, senior economist at Nomura Research Institute.

While currency trading activity has increased substantially for many life insurers, none label it speculative. They say trading is still essentially hedge-oriented.

"As a hedge to our bond portfolio, we will sell dollars forward and sometimes buy them back if we think the spot rate is likely to rise, but only as a supplement to our hedging operation," said Hiroshi Murakami, director of Dai-Ichi Mutual Life Insurance Co.

"We have become nervous about exchange risk, especially with the end of this fiscal year drawing near and have increased our hedge ratio," Mr. Murakami said.

On March 31, the end of the Japanese fiscal year, life insurance companies will have to revalue their foreign bond and stock holdings if the yen has moved 15 percent against its level of 145.85 yen a year earlier.

Exchange division managers at life insurance companies polled said they would continue to lobby the more conservative senior decision-makers within their firms to emphasize foreign exchange trading.

"In the old days, being conservative meant doing nothing," one foreign exchange manager said. "Now we realize that we are going to have to move if we want to make money."

MACY: Theatrical Retailer Makes a Bid for Federated

(Continued from first finance page)

(Continued from first finance page) saloon and restaurant P.J. Clarke's in Macy's flagship store, an 11-story emporium on 34th Street at Herald Square.

"Macy's has one of the finest management teams in all of retailing," said Mr. Greenstein of Bear, Stearns. "They would be a real asset to Federated operations."

Mr. Finkelstein also has won praise on Wall Street for digging Macy out of much of the debt it took on when it converted to private ownership in a \$3.7 billion leveraged buyout.

Since going private in July 1986, Macy has reduced its debt to \$2.75 billion from \$3.2 billion. It posted a pretax profit of \$59.6 million in 1987, far better than its own projections of a pretax loss of \$42.7 million.

Macy's return to profitability, rise in sales and reduction of debt all were accomplished without significant layoffs. More than 400 Macy's managers, in fact, participated in its ownership.

Many analysts and arbitragers were stunned by Macy's sudden appearance in the takeover contest for Federated.

After weeks of hostile moves and counter-moves, Federated and Campeau had said Friday in a joint statement that they were negotiating. Wall Street assumed that Campeau

peau's tenacious chairman, Robert Campeau, had finally made such a strong offer that Federated's board of directors had to cooperate.

Campeau, which in 1986 acquired Allied Stores Corp. for \$1.3 billion, owns Jordan Marsh, Ann Taylor and Stern's among other stores. It apparently was most interested in Federated's J. Magnin and Bloomingdale's stores.

Mr. Campeau was so eager to take over Federated that he agreed last week to sell Allied's prized Brooks Brothers chain to Marks & Spencer PLC of Britain for \$770 million.

But among other retailers the feeling was that Federated would go to great lengths to avoid a take-over by Campeau. Monday's events proved the point.

A spokeswoman for Campeau assailed Macy's bid. She noted that the cash part of the offer — \$52 billion for 80 percent of Federated's common shares — was substantially less than Campeau's offer of just over \$6 billion.

She added that it is difficult to value the equity.

"We are disappointed," she said. "We don't believe that deal is as good as ours."

The prospect of a bidding war between investors, who continued the run-up in Federated shares that began when Campeau launched a tender offer for the company's shares on Jan. 25, Federated's share price rose \$1.125 Tuesday to close at \$67.625 on the New York Stock Exchange, with more than 1.6 million shares changing hands.

On Monday, Federated stock advanced \$2 a share.

Other parties, notably a consortium of Dillard's Department Stores and the developers Taubman Co. and Melvin Simon & Associates, reportedly also have expressed interest in buying Federated.

Analysts said that whoever succeeds in buying Federated is likely to sell Federated's nondepartment store divisions.

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OBSERVER

Election Smoke Rings

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK — When Democrats talked about holding a brokered convention they thought of Mayor Daley and a smoke-filled room, forgetting that Mayor Daley was dead and that nobody smoked anymore.

What they got was a televised spectacle: all their candidates and Oprah Winfrey as temporary presiding moderator at the opening session. Oprah, as everyone called her in reference to the just-plain-folks etiquette of television, had won the honor in a coin toss with Phil Donahue and Geraldine Rivera.

The ground rules laid down by the League of Women Voters gave each candidate three minutes to form a winning coalition in the contest to elect a permanent moderator.

Front-runners for permanent moderator were Tom Brokaw, Judy Woodruff, Dan Rather, Peter Jennings and John Chancellor, with Sander Vanocur, Charles Kuralt and Sam Donaldson widely mentioned as dark horses.

When the candidates entered the studio to take their seats, veteran image observers saw at once that a deal was in the works. The tipoff was Governor Dukakis's left eye.

Oprah, thrusting her microphone at Dukakis, said, "Tell America, governor, why you think this country is ready for a president with only one eyebrow."

Everything became clear a moment later when the camera picked up Representative Gephardt, who had a single thick black brow over his eye.

The camera went immediately to Pat Sajak, Vanna White and George Will for analysis. All three agreed that the exchange of eyebrows left no doubt that Dukakis and Gephardt had formed a secret coalition.

Senator Paul Simon and Jesse Jackson were heard far off only demanding that the cameras cut away from Pat, Vanna and George and focus on them so they could protest what fast-thinking commentators were already calling "the eyebrow coalition."

Messages instantly intervened on behalf of a new breakfast cereal, snow tires, an airline, bear shampoo and fake whipped cream in an aerosol can.

When the camera came right back after those messages, we learned that the League of Women Voters had fined both Simon and Jackson 25 delegates and costs for speaking out of turn. Gephardt and Dukakis were missing. Sent home, as it turned out.

Oprah explained that the league had made them take notes home to their mothers as punishment for forming a coalition in secret.

A nation desperate for analysis saw George Will ask Vanna White whether she considered it a violation of Madisonian principles for famous TV political personalities to be punished for making secret deals.

Vanna replied that Mayor Daley was dead, and nobody smoked anymore, and anything not done openly on TV had to be squeaked unless we wanted Mayor Daley to come back and people to start smoking again.

That led to a number of messages. Right after those messages we got back in time to learn we had missed the live camera pickup of Gephardt's mother refusing to let him in the house with his note until he got his own eyebrow back from Dukakis.

Oprah said we would see that emotional scene on tape right after those messages, but when we got back right after those messages there had been stunning new developments. Rather, Brokaw, Jennings, Woodruff and Chancellor had dropped out of the race for permanent moderator.

Panic spread fast from front-runners for permanent moderator to the dark horses, and then to TV stars who hadn't even been widely mentioned as possible moderators. Walter Cronkite, out of touch on his yacht, neglected to panic, but NBC interrupted its coverage for Willard Scott's announcement that he elected he would not moderate.

Oprah volunteered to moderate to the end if the Democrats promised not to nominate her for president, but that was against the rules laid down by the league.

Finally, all the candidates withdrew to the makeup room, locked the door and lit up. Some still say Mayor Daley appeared. In any case, that's how, after all those years of retirement, Walter Cronkite finally became president.

New York Times Service

Brasseries à la Jean-Paul Bucher

By Steven Greenhouse

New York Times Service

PARIS — Jean-Paul Bucher, a former chef at Maxim's, might have the most successful recipe in Paris: Take a half-dozen preferably large and ornate brasseries, spice up the traditional fare with some nouvelle cuisine fish dishes, blend in some Beaujolais and beer, and throw in a little business sense.

Voilà, Bucher has cooked up Paris's largest restaurant empire, a \$60 million enterprise that serves 1.2 million people each year in bustling restaurants so handsomely preserved that they look like works of art, some Art Nouveau, some Art Deco.

Now Bucher has added the crown jewel to his empire. In January he bought La Coupe, a 600-seat emporium that is probably the most famous brasserie in Paris, and perhaps in the world. It was where Hemingway drank with other American expatriates, where Sartre philosophized over lunch and where Picasso often painted the town.

With this acquisition, Bucher, a sturdy 49-year-old Alsatian, is starting to be called the king of Paris's brasseries — those festive, noisy restaurants known for their beer and for offering anything from a bowl of onion soup to a full meal from noon to 2 A.M.

"Brasseries will never become outmoded," Bucher said. "There are plenty of restaurants with faded themes that are here today and gone tomorrow, but brasseries always seem to stay."

When René Lafon, the 89-year-old restaurateur whose family founded La Coupe 60 years ago, announced that he was selling his Boulevard Montparnasse landmark to Bucher, French newspapers and restaurateurs mourned the passing of an era.

"The mom-and-pop brasseries are fading away," said Roland Magne, owner of Au Paupitre restaurant and president of the Paris Restaurant Association. "Brasseries are becoming big business."

Bucher's empire is the foremost example of the trend that is transforming Paris's vaunted culinary industry. Where Paris restaurants were once proud to have one establishment, Bucher now has nine — six in Paris, two elsewhere, in France and one in Barcelona —



Jacques Peretti/SYGMA (top); B. Bousquet/SYGMA

as well as a group of quality delicatessens.

And he has just signed an agreement with Japan's third-largest restaurant group to design and manage two brasseries in Tokyo. He has set his sights on London, and said he was waiting for some New York entrepreneurs to make him an offer he could not refuse.

Paris's second-largest restaurant group belongs to the Blanc brothers, Jacques and Pierre, who own Charlot, Roi des Coquilles, a seafood restaurant, three Alsatian brasseries and Le Procope, a 300-year-old cafe that once served Voltaire and Robespierre. There are also the Layrac brothers, with three restaurants, a wine bar, and a couple of food boutiques, and L'Ecluse, a chain with six wine bars.

In the English-speaking world, the image of chains is positive, but in France it is very negative," Jacques Blanc said. "In the United States and Britain, people like the uniformity of restaurants in a chain, but in France, we have to make sure each of our restaurants has a very different image."

Bucher's company, Groupe Flo, named after the first brasserie he owned, has learned that lesson well. In 1968 he bought Brasserie Flo, a 102-year-old institution with handsome murals and wood paneling that looks as if it had been transported from Alsace. The restaurant did so well that he was able to buy three more brasseries in the 1970s, all without taking in partners.

Bucher, a heavy, jocular man whose pink cheeks give him a slightly cherubic air, said that one of his keys to success was that Parisians — and foreigners who love to act like Parisians — have frequented brasseries for 100 years and will no doubt continue to do so.

France's masses have long flocked to these establishments knowing they can order anything at any hour, and to enjoy the some: the writers, painters, models, stockbrokers, retired gents and couples on first dates, and the ever-present tourists.

"Bucher takes established landmarks, places with fame and originality, and preserves them," said Claude Lebey, author of several restaurant guides. "You don't see that happen so often in the United States."

Bucher's "collection" — a word he likes to use to describe his brasseries — includes gems like Julien, which is filled with stained glass and wood carvings and was built for the 1889 World's Fair, and Le Boeuf sur le Toit, which in an earlier incarnation as a night-club at a different address, was the home away from home for many of France's intellectuals in the 1920s.

A good restaurant is like a chateau," Bucher said. "There are the salons where you entertain your guests, and then there are the working quarters. Your guests should be able to feel at ease without having to see all the work behind the scenes."

Although some critics say the main reason for Bucher's success is the physical beauty of his restaurants, others give credit to his formula. That includes a lively scene, good modern food with classic accents, and what Bucher calls the most important factor of all: a solid price-quality relationship. A full meal often costs about 200 francs, or \$35.

As for the tourists, Bucher said he would prefer not to attract too many of them. "We want to make sure," he said, "that when people come to our restaurants, they get to see a lot of real Parisians."

Bucher runs his "chain" in a way that is certainly different from those of McDonald's or Howard Johnson's. For one thing, he has 30 people working full time shelling oysters. For another, the menu of each of his restaurants changes each day.

Group Flo rotates more than 300 main dishes into its restaurants. Someone from headquarters negotiates the menu with each restaurant's chef two weeks in advance. Although each restaurant's menu differs each day, Groupe Flo has a major advantage over competitors because it does 80 percent of its buying as a group. This means major efficiencies and discounts, especially on wine and spirits.

Bucher is spending \$10 million to acquire La Coupe and plans a \$3 million renovation. Nevertheless, he vows not to tinker with the restaurant's decor, least of all its 32 famous pillars, which many struggling artists painted when they did not have enough money to pay their bills.

We try to respect the history of these brasseries and we try to put very modern operations into the restaurant's heart, said Bucher. Customers never know, for instance, that Bucher has installed computers in Vaudeville, a mirrored and marbled Art Deco sensation across from the Paris Bourse that is serving a six-year prison term in an unrelated drug charge. The sentence is being appealed.

PEOPLE

Hurricane Carter Talks About Prison Ordeal

The former boxer Rubin (Hurricane) Carter emerged Monday from quiet exile to say he was sentenced to "a life of living death" if three murders he did not commit but he harbors no bitterness toward prosecutors. "If I have learned anything in my life, it's that it's better to consume the vessel that contains it," said Carter, who had been in a federal jail since he was sentenced in 1985, after 19 years in prison. His legal battle ended Friday when charges were finally dropped.

"The fact that the most productive years of my life, at ages of 29 and 30, have been stolen from me is a tragedy," he said. "As there is no other way to describe the nature of a prison. Prison destroys everything valuable in the life of a human being. One moment I'm a champion prize fighter, the next moment and 20 years later I'm reviled as a triple murderer. You try to make sense of that, I'm damned if I can."

Carter and John Artis, both black, were convicted of the 1966 murder of three white men. Artis, paroled in 1986, is serving a six-year prison term in an unrelated drug charge. The sentence is being appealed.

A Soviet film crew is in Mendoza, New Mexico, making a documentary to honor the 90th birthday of the industrialist Armand Hammer, who has been dealing with Soviet leaders since 1955. The crew from Gosteleradio, the Soviet Union's government television company, accompanied Hammer to northeastern New Mexico to visit the college he founded, the Armand Hammer United World College of the Americas. The documentary is slated to be broadcast May 21 — Hammer's birthday — on Soviet television.

Casper W. Weinberger, the U.S. secretary of defense, is joining the law firm of Rogers & Wells as a Washington-based specialist in international law and finance. The 275-lawyer firm, headed by the former secretary of state, William P. Rogers,

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